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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ3367

PAGE 01 HARARE 05137 01 OF 03 131415Z
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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7082
INFO SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
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NSC WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 HARARE 005137

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR GAYLE SMITH
LONDON FOR CHARLES GURNEY
PARIS FOR BISA WILLIAMS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 09/12/10
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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH NEW PARLIAMENT SPEAKER
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HARARE 05137 01 OF 03 131415Z
MNANGAGWA

REF: HARARE 5003

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR MCDONALD. REASONS: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY

1. (C) IN A MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR MCDONALD ON SEPTEMBER 11, NEW PARLIAMENT SPEAKER EMMERSON MNANGAGWA INITIALLY DENIED THAT HE WAS STILL A KEY PLAYER ON DRC POLICY, BUT LATER ADMITTED THAT HE WOULD TRAVEL SOON TO KINSHASA, AT PRESIDENT MUGABE'S REQUEST, TO LEARN KABILA'S LATEST THINKING ON LUSAKA. MNANGAGWA DESCRIBED THE NEW PARLIAMENT AS LIVELY. ZANU-PF AND THE MDC SHARE A COMMON ASSESSMENT OF ZIMBABWE'S CURRENT PROBLEMS BUT DISAGREE ON PROPOSED SOLUTIONS, AND NEITHER PARTY WOULD ALLOW THE GOVERNMENT TO RUSH THINGS THROUGH THE LEGISLATIVE BODY. MNANGAGWA SPOKE HIGHLY OF THE USAID/SUNY-ALBANY PARLIAMENTARY REFORM PROJECT.

2. (C) ON LAND, MNANGAGWA SAID THE GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN FORCED TO PROCEED WITH ITS FAST TRACK RESETTLEMENT EFFORT BECAUSE THE PLAN LAID OUT BY THE SEPTEMBER 1998 DONORS CONFERENCE HAD BEEN TOO GRADUAL. WHEN THE AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT THE DAMAGING IMPACT ON THE ECONOMY, WITH FOOD SHORTAGES LIKELY, MNANGAGWA SAID THAT WAS THE COST OF REDISTRIBUTING LAND OWNERSHIP. MNANGAGWA ACKNOWLEDGED THE OCCURRENCE OF PRE-ELECTION VIOLENCE AND
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HARARE 05137 01 OF 03 131415Z
INSISTED THE GOZ HAD INVESTIGATED THE INCIDENTS ACTIVELY, BUT BLAMED THE COURTS FOR NOT PROCESSING THE CASES EXPEDITIOUSLY. END SUMMARY.

3. (C) THE AMBASSADOR, ACCOMPANIED BY POLOFFS, CALLED ON NEW PARLIAMENT SPEAKER EMMERSON MNANGAGWA ON SEPTEMBER 11. MNANGAGWA WAS JOINED BY SENIOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OFFICER EDISON PARADZA.

DROC

4. (C) AFTER CONGRATULATING MNANGAGWA ON HIS NEW APPOINTMENT, THE AMBASSADOR RAISED DRC, EMPHASIZING CONTINUING U.S. CONCERNS ABOUT PRESIDENT KABILA'S REFUSAL TO IMPLEMENT FULLY THE LUSAKA ACCORDS. THE UNITED STATES HOPED ZIMBABWE COULD PREVAIL ON KABILA TO HONOR HIS COMMITMENTS. MNANGAGWA SAID HE WAS NO LONGER DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN DRC POLICY, BUT PROVIDED HIS ASSESSMENT OF WHERE THE PEACE PROCESS STOOD. THE DRC, HE SAID, HAS

BEEN VERY HARD ON THE ISSUE OF WHERE MONUC TROOPS ARE DEPLOYED. THE GOZ HAS REMINDED THE CONGOLESE THEY HAVE TO ACCEPT THE DEPLOYMENT, AND TOLD THEM THAT LOCATION OF MONUC TROOPS SHOULD BE A MILITARY DECISION DICTATED BY EVENTS ON THE GROUND. MNANGAGWA THEN, LATER IN THE MEETING, ADMITTED THAT HE HAD SPOKEN TO KABILA IN LATE AUGUST AND, AT PRESIDENT MUGABE'S INSTRUCTION, WOULD SOON TRAVEL TO KINSHASA TO LEARN KABILA'S LATEST THINKING ON THE PEACE PROCESS.

PARLIAMENT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 HARARE 05137 01 OF 03 131415Z

15. (C) MNANGAGWA DESCRIBED THE NEW PARLIAMENT AS "VERY LIVELY." HE NOTED THAT HE HAD SPENT 20 YEARS IN PARLIAMENT AND FELT VERY COMFORTABLE THERE. BOTH ZANU-PF AND THE MDC, HE THOUGHT, RESPECTED HIS LEADERSHIP STYLE. HE CLAIMED THAT, WHEN HE IS NOT IN THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR, THE TWO PARTIES ARE AT EACH OTHER'S THROATS AND THERE IS CHAOS IN THE HOUSE. PARLIAMENT, WHICH CONVENES TUESDAY THROUGH THURSDAY, WILL BE IN SESSION THROUGH MID-DECEMBER, WITH A THREE-WEEK BREAK FROM SEPTEMBER 21 TO OCTOBER 17.

16. (C) THE AMBASSADOR ASKED WHETHER ZANU-PF AND THE MDC WOULD BE ABLE TO WORK TOGETHER. THE TWO PARTIES, MNANGAGWA REPLIED, HAVE A COMMON PERCEPTION OF MANY ISSUES, BUT DISAGREE ON HOW THEY SHOULD BE RESOLVED. FOR INSTANCE, THEY SHARE THE VIEW THAT LAND REFORM IS NECESSARY AND THAT THE ECONOMY IS "IN THE DOLDRUMS," BUT HAVE PROPOSED DIFFERENT SOLUTIONS. THE DEVIL IS IN THE DETAILS, HE SAID. BOTH PARTIES, THOUGH, WANT TRANSPARENCY AND WOULD NOT ALLOW THE GOVERNMENT TO RUSH THINGS THROUGH WITHOUT ADEQUATE SCRUTINY.

17. (C) ASKED WHETHER HE WAS AWARE OF THE PARLIAMENTARY REFORM PROJECT FUNDED BY THE USG THROUGH USAID AND ADMINISTERED THROUGH SUNY-ALBANY, MNANGAGWA SAID HE HAD

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL PTQ3370

PAGE 01 HARARE 05137 02 OF 03 131415Z
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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 HARARE 005137

SIPDIS

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HARARE 05137 02 OF 03 131415Z
MNANGAGWA

THAT MORNING ATTENDED A SUNY-ALBANY WORKSHOP ON BUDGETARY OVERSIGHT. HE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE PROJECT AND SAID HE INTENDED TO TALK TO SUNY-ALBANY AND USAID ABOUT DOING EVEN MORE.

LAND

18. (C) THE AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED SERIOUS U.S. CONCERN ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S FAST TRACK RESETTLEMENT EXERCISE. WE HAD BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE RECENT POLICE EVICTIONS OF WAR VETERANS FROM SOME FARMS, BUT THE EVICTIONS HAVE NOW STOPPED. HOME AFFAIRS MINISTER JOHN NKOMO, MNANGAGWA

REPLIED, ORDERED POLICE TO EVICT VETERANS FROM FARMS NOT IDENTIFIED FOR COMPULSORY ACQUISITION, BUT POLICE THEN WENT BEYOND THEIR MANDATE WHEN THEY DESTROYED THE SQUATTERS' PROPERTY. ONCE ALL FARMS HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED, WAR VETERANS WOULD BE MOVED FROM NON-IDENTIFIED FARMS TO FARMS ON THE LIST. ASKED WHETHER THEY WOULD BE ASKED TO MOVE VOLUNTARILY OR WHETHER POLICE WOULD BE INVOLVED, MNANGAGWA SAID HE DID NOT THINK FORCE WOULD BE USED. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE QUESTION OF LAW AND ORDER MUST BE ADDRESSED, AS SOME WAR VETERANS ARE OCCUPYING FARMS THAT WILL NEVER BE RESETTLED AND CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO DISTURB PRODUCTION THERE.

19. (C) MNANGAGWA ADMITTED THAT THIS PLANTING SEASON WILL BE AFFECTED BY THE RESETTLEMENT EXERCISE, SO IT IS IMPORTANT FOR THE GOZ TO SETTLE THE LAND ISSUE AS SOON AS
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 HARARE 05137 02 OF 03 131415Z
POSSIBLE. HE PREDICTED THAT COMMERCIAL FARMERS WOULD KNOW WHERE THEY STAND BY NOVEMBER. THE AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT THE DAMAGE TO THE ECONOMY, WITH POSSIBLE FOOD SHORTAGES NEXT YEAR. THERE IS A COST TO REDRAWING THE LINES OF LAND OWNERSHIP, MNANGAGWA SAID. LARGE-SCALE COMMERCIAL PRODUCTION WOULD BE HURT AND WOULD TAKE SEVERAL YEARS TO RECOVER, BUT STAPLE FOODS ARE PRODUCED PRIMARILY BY SMALL-SCALE AND COMMUNAL FARMERS AND WOULD NOT BE GREATLY AFFECTED BY THE RESETTLEMENT EFFORT.

110. (C) THE UNITED STATES, THE AMBASSADOR NOTED, AGREES THAT LAND REFORM IS NECESSARY AND WE WANT TO HELP, BUT NOT UNDER CURRENT CONDITIONS. THE GOZ FIRST HAD TO DEVISE A FAIR, TRANSPARENT PROCESS. THE GOZ, MNANGAGWA SAID SHARPLY, WOULD DETERMINE ITS OWN PLAN FOR LAND REFORM, AND THE DONORS COULD THEN DECIDE WHETHER OR NOT TO HELP. THE SEPTEMBER 1998 DONORS CONFERENCE HAD LAID OUT A PROCESS THAT WAS TOO GRADUAL. ABIDING BY THAT PLAN WOULD HAVE KEPT LAND IN THE FOREFRONT OF POLITICAL DEBATE IN ZIMBABWE FOR AT LEAST FIVE YEARS. THE GOVERNMENT, THEREFORE, HAD BY NECESSITY DECIDED ON A MORE EXPEDITED APPROACH. THE GOZ IS GETTING LAND MORE QUICKLY INTO THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO NEED IT, THEN WILL FOCUS ON HOW TO EMPOWER THOSE WHO ARE RESETTLED.

PRE-ELECTION VIOLENCE

111. (C) MNANGAGWA ACKNOWLEDGED THE OCCURRENCE OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE PRIOR TO THE JUNE ELECTION, BUT
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 HARARE 05137 02 OF 03 131415Z
INSISTED THAT SUCH INCIDENTS HAVE DIED DOWN. THE AMBASSADOR AGREED THAT THE SITUATION WAS SOMEWHAT CALMER, BUT NOTED THAT WE CONTINUE TO RECEIVE REPORTS OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION ON COMMERCIAL FARMS. MNANGAGWA SAID THAT ANYONE WHO COMMITS A CRIME MUST BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE. MNANGAGWA BLAMED THE COURTS FOR FAILING TO ACT EXPEDITIOUSLY ON THE NUMEROUS CASES REFERRED TO THEM. HE CLAIMED THAT 189 CASES OF PRE-ELECTION VIOLENCE IN MIDLANDS PROVINCE HAD BEEN REFERRED TO THE COURTS, AND 14 SUSPECTS HAD BEEN CONVICTED AND SENTENCED TO TERMS RANGING FROM 6-14 MONTHS. ASKED WHETHER ANYONE HAD BEEN TRIED AND SENTENCED FOR THE 31 REPORTED MURDERS COMMITTED DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, MNANGAGWA WAS EVASIVE, ONLY INSISTING THAT THE GOZ HAD DONE ITS JOB BY INVESTIGATING AND TURNING OVER CASES TO THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM. THE AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT GOVERNMENT PROSECUTORS PLAY A CRITICAL ROLE IN PUSHING CASES THROUGH THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM.

COMMENT

112. (C) MNANGAGWA, A MUGABE CONFIDANT AND FORMER MINISTER OF JUSTICE WITH A CHECKERED PAST, WAS CLEARLY PLEASED TO BE IN HIS NEW POSITION. HE ENJOYS THE RESPECT OF SOME LEGISLATORS, ALTHOUGH MOST FEAR HIM. AS REPORTED REFTTEL, HE HAS SO FAR BEEN EVEN-HANDED IN HIS RUNNING OF THE PROCEEDINGS, AND HAS NOT ATTEMPTED TO STIFLE VIGOROUS

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PAGE 01 HARARE 05137 03 OF 03 131415Z
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 HARARE 05137 03 OF 03 131415Z
MNANGAGWA

CRITICISMS OF THE GOVERNMENT BY MDC MPS. WE HAVE NO DOUBT, HOWEVER, THAT THE MAN KNOWN AS MUGABE'S ENFORCER WILL DO ALL HE CAN TO PREVENT THE MDC FROM ALTERING GOVERNMENT POLICY ON KEY ISSUES SUCH AS LAND RESETTLEMENT, ECONOMIC REFORM, AND MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THE DRC.

13. (C) DESPITE HIS INITIAL COY DENIALS, MNANGAGWA REMAINS A VERY KEY PLAYER ON DRC POLICY. WE WILL CONTINUE TO STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH HIM ON DRC AND WILL SEEK A READOUT AFTER HIS RETURN FROM KINSHASA. MNANGAGWA'S COMMENTS ON LAND REFLECT A WORRYING DETERMINATION TO GO IT ALONE WITH THE FAST-TRACK RESETTLEMENT EFFORT IF NECESSARY, REGARDLESS OF THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES. HIS ATTEMPTS TO BLAME THE COURTS FOR THE LACK OF ACTION IN THE MANY INCIDENTS OF PRE-ELECTION VIOLENCE ARE SIMPLY NOT CREDIBLE. THE GOZ BEARS THE PREDOMINANT BLAME FOR PREVENTING THE POLICE FROM INVESTIGATING THESE CASES RIGOROUSLY ENOUGH, IF AT ALL. ACCORDING TO A LEADING HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP HERE, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE 31 MURDERS REPORTED DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, ONLY ONE SUSPECT IN ONE CASE HAS BEEN ARRESTED. THIS GROUP TOLD US THAT THE KILLERS IN SOME OF THE OTHER CASES ARE KNOWN, BUT CONTINUE TO CIRCULATE WITH IMPUNITY IN THEIR COMMUNITIES.

MCDONALD

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PAGE 03 HARARE 05137 03 OF 03 131415Z

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